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# LABOR ACTION

DECEMBER 13, 1948

A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF SOCIALISM

FIVE CENTS

## Washington's China Policy: Groping in a Blind Alley

By JACK BRAD

Of all the receptions given to supplicants for American financial and political support—and they have in the past few years come from every corner of the globe—that given to Mme. Chiang Kai-shek is by far the strangest. This special emissary of the dying government of China is forced to maintain silence about her few interviews with Secretary of State Marshall, refrains from public addresses and cools her heels while Truman puts off a personal interview for which she has traveled 9,000 miles and which is of the utmost urgency.

The atmosphere in Washington is unmistakably cool toward the Chiang regime—without, however, giving up the regime entirely. In its own fashion Washington has been waging a cold war against Chiang since 1947 when Marshall returned from Nanking.

A few instances will fill in the picture. The administration's foreign aid program submitted last year did not contain appropriations for China. 475 millions were allocated subsequently, after a furious behind the scenes battle. Despite the deterioration of

Chiang's military position, especially since the autumn offensive of the Stalinists, the Truman administration has not proposed any new program of assistance. A month ago Chiang sent a personal message to Truman asking for a policy statement of support and substantial help. So unfavorable was Truman's reply, from Chiang's viewpoint, that he refrained from making it public.

### BASIC U. S. POLICY

This is the backdrop for Mme. Chiang's difficulties. It is improbable that she can overcome them in time or sufficiently. Her publicity agents have broadcast the tale that she carried the day against heavy odds, including Roosevelt's opposition, during her last visit during the war. However, the facts are to the contrary. Mme. Chiang tried at that time to reverse the American grand strategy from concentration in Europe to Asia. While she did get increased material assistance, she did not succeed in this basic and decisive objective.

This failure is also a clue to present American policy, which remains basically oriented toward Europe and

will not commit itself elsewhere to the detriment of this basic policy. For, in the terms of American imperialism, China has not fulfilled the economic or political promise which America desired of it.

Until virtually the outbreak of World War II, America's interest in Asia was not very extensive. The peculiar nature of U. S. imperialism is to dominate by sheer economic weight rather than by colonialism. Thus, the United States did not develop a Pacific empire except for the Philippines, Hawaii and other islands. By virtue of its ability to control the world market and as the primary source of capital surplus, the United States, in effect, entered into the British and Dutch empires more or less at will. U. S. investment in Indonesia and Malaya, the chief world source of rubber and major source of tin, oil and quinine, was about one and a quarter million dollars. U. S. trade was largely with Japan and the Southeast Asian colonies. Japan was fourth on the list of markets for finished goods from the United States.

The basic American economic stake was in South and Central America. But even in Asia its interests were elsewhere than in China. Thus, on a list of twenty primary markets for U. S. goods, China does not even appear. In ten years immediately preceding World War II, U. S. imports from China ranged between fifty-two millions and one hundred eleven millions annually and accounted for a negligible three to four per cent total import trade. The leading items imported were tung-oil, raw silk, some tinware, of which articles none are basic or irreplaceable.

It would be false to look at the picture from this one side. For in a year in which China imports from the United States accounted for fifty-seven per cent of all her imports, this same amount was a mere three and four tenths per cent of total U. S. exports. The same ratio holds for Chinese exports to the United States. Thus China's world trade relationship was so insignificant that her U. S. trade was relatively unimportant. The same is true of China as an outlet for capital investment. For in 1930 the U. S. had a mere 155 millions invested in China. This was the high-water mark of U. S. investments.

### DARK OUTLOOK

China never acquired a basic economic relationship to the United States. No substantial section of the American ruling class has an important stake in China. So that, in 1948, with his regime crumbling, the only spokesmen Chiang can find here are a handful of powerless, conservative politicians whose arguments are reduced to the doubtful defense of Chiang's "democracy" against totalitarian communism. But no one has made out a life and death case for the capitalist class. That is the basic weakness of Chiang's case.

This is graphically emphasized by post-war developments in China itself where the vampire-like expansion of the Four Families has brought most of China's economy under their bureaucratic-capitalist control. Both native and foreign businesses are being strangled to death by the crushing Kuomintang monopolies.

In consequence, the hopes of sections of U. S. capitalism for a monopoly over a growing extension in the Chinese economy are frustrated to the point where the dominant sentiment

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## Crack Midvale Steel's Anti-Union Drive Company Compelled to Retreat on Rate Cut as Workers Stand Firm

By JOHN LUCAS

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 28—The reopening on November 25 of the Midvale Company, the largest steel plant in Philadelphia, brought to a close one of the longest, least publicized and most important labor stoppages in this area.

In face of the rising cost of living, the Midvale Company announced early this year that it would cut the rates in several departments in its plant. The union (Federal Labor Union, Local 18,887 AFL) advised the company that it would stand for no decreases on any rates. On May 26, with the union contract still in effect, the company posted the decreased rates. The workers walked out of the plant.

The pay issue therefore became a secondary one in this struggle. The men were convinced that the Midvale Co., one of the smaller steel

companies, was really out to break the union and to set the pattern for an anti-union drive in Big Steel directly after the election. The company really picked the time for the lockout: for, while there is generally a shortage of raw steel, there has been a surplus of the fabricated product. Throughout the six months of negotiation the company sat tight. It stuck to its wage cuts and spread the word through the area that it would keep the plant closed permanently unless the men came back on the company terms. The company also spread the word to other employers in Philadelphia and no Midvale man could get a job to tide him through the lockout.

But the men sat tighter. In spite of the threats, the length of the lockout and the economic hardship of six months with no pay, the 2400 men stayed out. They kept the plant shut,

## Socialists Win in Berlin; Workers Defy Stalinists!

AN EDITORIAL

### At the Risk of Their Lives...

There is, we think, an important connection between the dramatic action of 2,000 administrative workers in Berlin's biggest electric power combine, Bewag, threatening to quit the Russian sector of Berlin unless their demands are heeded, and the huge vote polled by the Social Democratic Party in the Western sector. Both are acts of defiance directed against the Stalinists; both imply a heartening political understanding which includes, on however secondary a level at the moment, a repudiation of capitalism and its works as well as a repudiation of Russian totalitarianism; and one of them, at least, carries with it the gravest immediate personal risk for those involved.

For 2,000 workers in a key industry to rise against the Russian spies and Stalinist bosses and to make a mass migration to the British sector the price of failure to heed their demands, is an act of no mean heroism. Their demands include an end to Stalinist police supervision of their offices, and the release of six of their number who were arrested last week. There can be no doubt that they are risking their lives and the lives of their families. Nor are they safe once in the British sector. The Russian security police, whether they appear in native German garb or not, will never forgive those who rebelled against their tyranny.

That 86 per cent of the voters of the western sectors of Berlin voted for the anti-Stalinist parties in the municipal election boycotted by the Stalinists is not too surprising. All the apparatus of political and economic

propaganda was on their side. But that nearly 65 per cent voted the Social-Democratic ticket is important. It proves their loyalty to class interests and the socialist ideal—however wretchedly those interests and this ideal are upheld by the Social-Democratic leadership.

Together with the Bewag protest and their demonstrations against the Stalinists several months ago, under the slogan of "foreigners out," the vote is a sign that the people who lived through the terrors of Hitlerism, through four-power occupation, are regaining the organizational and political drive which once made the German socialist movement the largest in the world.

The Bewag workers, it must be remembered, lived behind the Iron Curtain. We are sure that their daring will impress others who live in Eastern Germany. Their story will undoubtedly spread throughout Stalinland. As it percolates through to the peoples who live under the surveillance of Stalin's stormtroopers, it will certainly encourage other acts of resistance and rebellion.

Viewed in terms of their large significance, the Bewag action and the Berlin vote suggest that here are the elements of the Third Camp of socialist struggle against both the imperialist rule of Moscow AND Washington. We forecast that we will hear from these elements again and again, asserting, each time with increasing determination, their wish for a Unified and an Independent Germany.

The results of Berlin's Sunday elections are a stinging defeat for Russian Stalinism and its representatives in Germany. There can be no other possible interpretation of the fact that close to 1 1/2 million people, risking future reprisals from the Stalinist-GPU machine, went to the polls and by that very act recorded their opposition to Stalinism and its methods. With 85 per cent of those eligible to vote actually voting, only Germans living in the Eastern-Stalinist occupied section of Berlin were unable to vote.

The results likewise affirm the determination of the Berlin population to continue the struggle against Stalinism. The Social Democratic party—the unquestioned leading party in western Germany—scored its greatest victory since the end of the war by swamping its two conservative parties by more than two to one. Two out of each three Berliners voted for the Social Democratic party, and put it in power over western Berlin. Since, with all its faults, the Social Democrats have been the most active and consistent opponents of Stalinism in Berlin this amazing vote can only be interpreted as a demand for a continuation of the struggle.

The election results, of course, have raised the atmosphere in Berlin to a new state of tension. The isolated and puppet government set up by the Stalinists already has its hands full in the strike of 2,000 Bewag workers, who run the city's largest electrical power plant. The split of the city is deeper than ever, and it is likely that two kinds of currency—excluding one another—will circulate in the respective sections of Berlin. Two governments, two currencies, two distinct administrations—this is the perspective.

Exactly how the Stalinists and Russians will react to this body blow they have received is as yet impossible to say. Will they recognize their defeat and beat a temporary retreat, or will they continue with their policy of attempting to size power? To go ahead risking actual war and conflict, because there is little else they can do now beyond indulged and overt attacks and provocations? Politically, they have been defeated.

The Social Democrats have indicated that while they will continue their policy of dependence upon the British and Americans, they will make a few demands of their own. They now demand a doubling of the volume of food, etc., brought in by the air lift, and thus indicate the pressure they feel being brought upon them by the Berlin workers who have gained a sense of independence and self-confidence from their successful defiance of Stalinism. The Social Democratic leadership, however, has also indicated its intention of continuing the present coalition government with the two conservative bourgeois parties.

The struggle over Berlin enters yet another phase, and the real significance of the elections is that the people of the city, feeling their power more and more, are straining to assume this leadership in the battle against Stalinism and losing their former tendency to depend upon the military governments.

## East-West Shipping Tie-Up Ends As Unions Vote to Accept Contracts

NEW YORK—With acceptance by the rank and file of the Marine Firemen (Independent) and the Marine Cooks (CIO) of the newly proposed contract this past week-end, shipping resumed out of the West Coast ports. This followed by one week acceptance of terms by the International Longshoremen Assn. (AFL) membership ending the East Coast strike. The International Longshoremen and Warehousemen Union (CIO), West Coast longshore union, had agreed to terms too last week, but maintained their pact with the other West Coast Unions, not returning to work until everyone had signed.

On both coasts the union leaderships hailed the new contracts as a tremendous gain. While it is safe to say that their respective memberships were not quite as enthusiastic, the votes for acceptance were overwhelming.

The ILA strike, which started as a revolt against a Ryan proposed settlement, lasted 2 and one-half weeks. The new contract is better than the one Ryan originally tried to

cram down the throats of the membership. It has a 13 cents and 19 1-2 cents straight time and overtime increase instead of 10 cents and 15 cents. Four hours call-in pay for mornings and two hours for afternoons instead of the previous two hours for the morning; one week vacation after working 800 hours, two weeks after 1,350 hours, where previous contract called for one week after 1,359 hours; (All Ryan could do on this was one week for 1,250 hours); retroactivity to August 21 (contract expiration) rather than Ryan proposal of Sept. 21.

While these new terms constitute only modest gains, the strike must be considered a tremendous victory for the rank and file. This strike proved that the ILA membership is powerful enough to force a strike of enormous proportions on an unwilling and corrupt leadership. This was the first widespread and official strike in ILA history and it has taught the ranks in practical terms what the strike weapon means to workers. It will be very difficult for Ryan to order these same workers through someone else's picket line as he has done in the past.

The strike on the west coast was a lot more complicated in every aspect. Of the three big unions involved, the top bureaucracy of two (MCS & ILWU) are completely dominated by the Stalinist machine. The strike began when the 80 day Taft-Hartley injunction ran out on Sept. 2. Since the election of Dewey was a foregone conclusion, the employers were determined to stand firm until the election was over and then break the strike with the aid of the Gov't. Originally the Stalinist leaders of these unions asked for contract renewal and nothing else. When the bosses refused even this and clearly wanted to attempt to break the union the Stalinists took up a more militant line. But instead of pursuing a policy that would attract the active support of the entire labor movement, they consulted with nobody but themselves and quickly integrated the strike with the Wallace campaign.

Labor Action reported in previous issues on the relationship between Bridges and the National Maritime Union (CIO) during this strike, the insistence on the part of the C P

strike leaders of dictating a rotten policy to the NMU and refusing to consult on joint policy after repeated requests from the NMU. We learn now that toward the end of the strike, Curran, while in San Francisco, made Bridges eat his words and retract his denunciations of the NMU at a longshore meeting.

The three month West coast strike is now over. The economic gains made were not big. The union fought a defensive battle. But the strike ended in victory nevertheless. The union was not broken, the hiring hall remains intact and what the Stalinists probably consider the greatest victory of all, the Taft-Hartley Affidavits were not signed!

One very bad feature is the three year contract given to the employers. Had the people not voted against Taft-Hartley in the national election, this strike would very likely have ended in disaster. As things worked out the west coast unions won their biggest gamble. If the union had had any other leadership a strike at that time would undoubtedly have been more effective.

The reason for Beigin's trip to the United States was to get financial and moral support for the Heiruth (Freedom) Party formed by organizational merger of the Irgun and the Revisionists in Palestine. There was no need for a political rapprochement, since the two groups both claimed the mantle of the Jabotinsky movement. It was a struggle of cliques. The Irgunists won, and now have the overwhelming control in the combined movement. They have installed as the editor-in-chief of

their newspaper Uri Zvi Greenberg, theoretician of the Brith Baryonim. The propaganda experts of the American League for a Free Palestine attempt to act as statesman and proclaim that Beigin, the "probable next premier of Palestine," is here on a good-will tour. Beigin did not fail to act also as the "commander-in-chief" and "review the troops" of the Betar, a semi-military revisionist youth organization.

Large advertisements appeared in the newspapers, announcing a welcoming committee of governors, rabbis, congressmen, preachers and Philip Murray. Many of these people (including Murray) later withdrew their names, under the pressure of Jewish labor leaders, the Einstein statement and the Lazarov open letter.

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## WP and SYL Picket Beigin Welcome Rally in New York

By AL FINDLEY

Menachim Beigin, former Irgun commander, received a welcome in New York—but not the kind of welcome he had expected. Expecting the honors accorded a VIP, he received a welcome befitting a fascist pretender.

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NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

# End of an Era in CIO...

(Continued from page 1)

That is the organizational side of the question, and it should not be overlooked. This weakening of the Stalinists in CIO did not take place chiefly through maneuvers by the Murray bureaucracy, but by revolts of the membership against Stalinist control. In two major cases, to be sure, these revolts were led by turncoats from the Stalinist machines (Curran in NMU and Mike Quill in Transport). But the fact that in these cases, as well as in the others, anti-Stalinist factions won out, is an indication of the fact that the Stalinists have begun to slip everywhere in the influence they have enjoyed in the CIO since the thirties.

Of course, this turn of the workers from Stalinism is not 100 per cent progressive, any way you look at it. No doubt thousands and even hundreds of thousands of them have been influenced more by the reactionary anti-Communist propaganda spread by the government, press and radio than by a clear understanding of the true nature of Stalinism. At the CIO convention in Portland the Murray faction's arguments and attacks on the Stalinists were about half legitimate and progressive and half reactionary and red-baiting. They are leading the workers away from Stalinism, but not toward a sounder, more realistic position of struggle for their rights and interests against their ruling-class enemies in this country.

### SHAPE OF A NEW ERA

An era has ended in the history of the CIO. The question for every worker who regards this great movement as the strongest and most progressive wing of American trade unionism is: what is the nature of the new era which the tenth constitutional convention has opened up?

The convention itself can't give a full answer to this question for the happy reason that the officials who represented their memberships there are not the only ones who will decide this question. The economic, social and political developments in America and in the world, and the way the rank and file of the CIO reacts to these developments will tell the whole story.

But there can be no doubt of the intentions of the Murray CIO bureaucracy in this matter. If they have their way, this will be the era in which the CIO becomes a powerful political force to prop up the capitalist system at home and abroad while gaining the most it can get for the workers while doing so.

They believe that the Democratic Party victory has ushered in the New Deal. They forget that the old New Deal was not a rosy heaven for the workers. They have forgotten, or would like their constituents to forget, that in 1940, after seven years of the old New Deal, there were still from ten to fifteen million unemployed; that according to their own statements at the time these unemployed were never adequately provided for by the New Deal; that during the New Deal the CIO had to fight on the picket lines for most of the major gains it made; and that the old New Deal solved the problem of full employment only by drafting eleven million young Americans into the armed forces and putting the rest to work to provide them with arms and sustenance.

### EFFECTS ON NATION

They passed a great number of resolutions at this convention which, if carried out, would vastly improve the standard of living of the American people. These resolutions on housing, minimum wage, civil rights for Negroes and other minorities, medical care, taxation, wages, participation by representatives of labor in controlling the Marshall Plan, etc., etc., do not differ materially from resolutions passed at any other CIO convention. The point is that they were never carried out in the past because the CIO relied on the good will of the government with a little "pressure" from labor to carry them out.

Now they know what socialists have been saying for a century, that labor can be the DECISIVE political force in the country. Yet their proposals, running through all their speeches, on how their program is to be put into action, are no different than they were before the Truman election.

Murray and his co-thinkers dream of a peaceful partnership with capital in industry and in government. In this partnership they, the official leaders of the labor movement, will put their feet under the table with the millionaires, military brass and the government bureaucrats to arrange the life of the nation. The workers in the factories and mines, on the farms and railroads of the country will go on working diligently, producing "reasonable" profits for their employers, contented and safe in the knowledge that their elected trade union officers are looking after their welfare at the top. This is the bureaucratic paradise which Murray

has to offer the millions of men and women who pay the bills for the CIO.

### WARNING TO DISSENTERS

Of course, just as the nation is to be run by a bureaucratic partnership of labor leaders, capitalists, churchmen and politicians, the unions themselves are to be run by a partnership of anti-Communist bureaucrats. Any labor leader who tries to break this partnership by advocating policies contrary to those of Murray & Co. is committing a crime because when big-shots fall out the ranks may rally behind the factions and take things into their own hands.

The measures passed at this convention which give the National Executive Board great powers to intervene in the affairs of various internationals are now directed against the Stalinist leaders in some of the weaker unions. But the whole atmosphere generated at this convention along the line of demanding unquestioning adherence to the policies of the majority in political as well as all other matters can and will be used as a weapon against any dissenters who may appear in the future.

This is of vital importance to every thinking member in CIO. Already there is a "left" and a "right" wing in the Murray majority. However, the left wing went down the line with Murray at this convention in order to smash the Stalinists. They were silent when Murray violated democratic methods in running the convention. They were silent when Van Bittner and others made speeches which should make every thinking liberal, let alone people who consider themselves "radicals," blush with shame. They did not put forth one idea of their own which would lead the workers back home to realize that Murray is not the only real leader in CIO.

### OVER-ALL MEANING

Yet they were there. As Murray's bureaucratic paradise reveals itself to the workers to be made of the same flimsy material as all other dreams, there will be more of them. As the ranks find out in the next few months that reliance on "their" president and "their" Congress, and their "American middle way" simply means that they have to carry the load of inflation or depression and, in any case, of the vast domestic and foreign military expenditures on their backs, the left wing will become stronger.

Of this there can be no doubt. Yet it is our contention that this tenth convention of the CIO will make the job of the left wing harder in the future, not easier.

For this convention did not smash the Stalinists. As we have pointed out, that job was done to the extent it has been done before the convention, by vote of the ranks in key unions. The convention simply recorded this fact and gave the Murray forces the heart to organize further measures to smash the Stalinists from above. At the same time, due to the timidity, "practicality" and inaction of the real left wing, it put more power in Murray's hands and lent more prestige to Murray's name and through it to his theories about the future role of labor in America than he has ever had before.

For the first time in the history of CIO this convention has established the principle that this great labor body can demand the loyal carrying out of all decisions not only in its basic field of trade union strategy and tactics, but also in the wider field of politics. And at the present time this means that all leaders of

CIO are bound by convention decision to be loyal to the political ideas of Murray's bureaucratic capitalism and to the Democratic Party which he hopes to make the vehicle for putting these ideas into practice.

That is the over-all significance of this convention of the CIO. That is the New Era which Murray thinks he has inaugurated at Portland.

The old era of Stalinist-Murray collaboration lasted ten years. We predict that the New Era will not last a quarter as long. It will end either in the destruction of the free labor movement in America at the hands of those whom Murray seeks as peaceful partners, or much more likely, in an upsurge of the CIO spirit of the thirties but this time applied to the political struggle against the capitalists which will go hand in hand with the economic struggle. When this Murray era ends, Mr. Murray and his closest lieutenants in CIO will be swept away with the dream which they are now dreaming.

## THE JOB IS WELL BEGUN

# Report on Operation Dixie

By SUSAN GREEN

When, twenty-nine months ago, the CIO announced its "Operation Dixie" the event was hailed by all labor elements as one of the most important in labor's history. And it was.

At this year's CIO convention in Portland, Ore., provision was made to build up an operating fund to continue this organization work in the South and elsewhere. The idea was to raise the per capita tax by three cents a month, two cents of which (expected to total two million dollars a year) is to be earmarked for this essential task. Judging by the accomplishments of "Operation Dixie" thus far and by the Herculean job still to be done in the South, two million dollars a year—and more—could not be turned to better use. Here is the story to date.

When "Operation Dixie" got on its way in the summer of 1946, the CIO staff of organizers, under Van A. Bittner, literally started from scratch. Using improvised offices and sometimes packing boxes for desks, the CIO workers, consisting largely of men and women inexperienced in the arduous tasks ahead of them, dug eleven Southern states from Virginia to Texas. It was months before they could obtain offices, and more months before they gained know-how and the support of hundreds of local volunteers as organizers assisting the regular staff.

### FIERCE OPPOSITION

The anti-union opposition the CIO battles in the South is versatile and brutal. William Weiss, an organizer in "Operation Dixie," in the November 15 CIO News tells with eloquence and feeling about the obstacles encountered in organizing the South.

There are the attacks by the bosses in the form of wholesale firings and

### WP Bulletin

The latest issue of the WP Bulletin contains the Draft Resolution on the International Situation. Order from Workers Party, 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y. 15 cents plus postage.



# YOUTH and Student CORNER

By JULIUS FALK and JACK MAXWELL

### TOTALITARIANISM AT PLAY

Stalinism in power is socially organized terror which has no rival for the totality and intensiveness of its repressive techniques. The brutality of the Nazi party and government was its closest competitor. Every aspect of social, political and economic life is held under the strictest surveillance inside of Russia, and the Kremlin objective in its satellite countries and occupied territories is to impose upon them this totalitarian pattern.

Totalitarianism has always paid close attention to the youth. It gives special "privileges" to the less experienced and more easily propagandized strata of the population, the youth, in order to find a more reliable popular base for itself; a supply depot of future police, army officers, factory supervisors, trustworthy technicians and "dependable" workers. The special favors given to youth are not granted outside of the normal totalitarian framework; freedom is not a special gift to young people designed to be automatons. On the contrary, there is the most vigilant regimentation of youth functions. All their activities are regulated from above—academic training, games, sports, culture—and everything is directed toward fusing the thinking, the attitudes and ambitions of young people with those of the totalitarian state.

In the Stalinist controlled sector of Germany, the Nazi tradition of regimentation of youth is being perpetuated by the Kremlin conquerors. In the November 22 issue of the New York Times a report is given of a recent Russian decree in Germany on sports which is symmetrical with the policies and objectives of their Nazi predecessors. The provisions of this decree are as follows:

1. Chess clubs are required to register their members with the new controlling authority, the "Freie Deutsche Jugend" (Free German Youth), which is, of course, a Stalinist controlled youth organization sponsored by the Russian authorities.
2. Freedom in sports is forbidden, because, as the authors of the decree put it, the German youth are "politically too innocent."
3. All participants in sports are required to receive political and cultural training. Soccer players, wrestlers and boxers are expected to join the "Junagaktivisten" (Young Activists) and one of their functions will be to make the two year economic plan a success.
4. All sports clubs must be authorized by the "Freie Deutsche Jugend."
5. Authorized sport teams must apply a month in advance in order to play in a match.

Such decrees as this, outlawing freedom in sports, are not only for the obvious purpose of indoctrination and economic exploitation, but have an equally important political motivation. That is the need of a totalitarian

force to impress any organized group with the fact that they are being watched and thereby inhibit any "anti-state" individual or group from expressing "wrong ideas." Chess clubs and other cultural organizations which are non-political have often become centers of democratic and socialist undergrounds in totalitarian states. The Stalinists are well aware of this and therefore seek to stifle any independent activity requiring the participation of more than one person.

### CHILD LABOR IN U. S.

Despite the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, which was supposed to have minimized child labor, there has been a tremendous increase in the number of minors employed in industry and agriculture. In a report issued by the general secretary of the National Child Labor Committee it was revealed that there are 2,300,000 employed young people between the ages of 14 and 17. In 1940 there were 870,000 youths in this age category employed. Today the figure is more than twice that number.

A breakdown in these figures gives an interesting insight into how the world's richest nation "guarantees" a complete education for its youth:

Of the 4,160,000 adolescents in the country between 14 and 15 years of age, 20 per cent are either fully employed, looking for jobs, partially employed or are neither employed or in school.

For the 4,330,000 persons who are 16 and 17 years old, 47 per cent fall into this employed category. More than 1,000,000 of this age group do not attend school at all.

It should be emphasized that the report deals with only the 14-17 age levels. The figure of 2,300,000 would be considerably greater if the number of uneducated and working children below 14 years old were added to it.

### SYMPOSIUM POSTPONED

The New York youth symposium on "Which Road to Socialism," scheduled for this Sunday has been postponed until January 9. Three youth organizations were scheduled to participate: the Socialist Youth League, the Young People's Socialist League and the SWP youth group. The Social Democratic Youth who had agreed to participate in the meeting, have reversed themselves. Evidently, the company doesn't suit them.

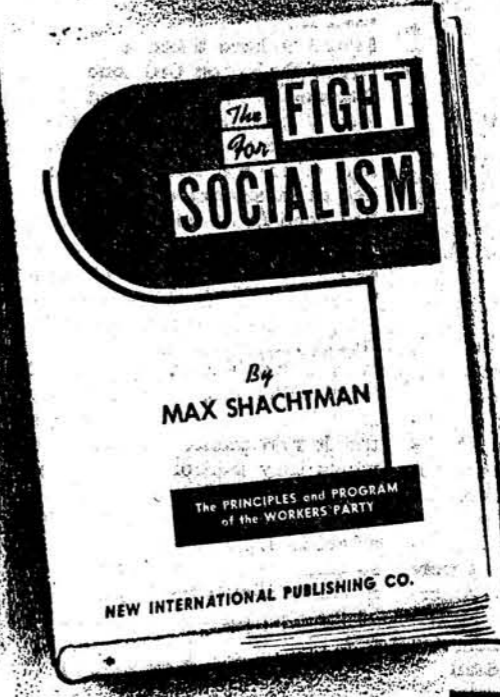
The SWP youth group asked for the postponement of Sunday evening's meeting because their party is having a meeting in the afternoon of that day. Then it developed that the scheduled YPSL speaker had made another appointment following the SWP request and, according to the YPSL, even if the SWP youth would withdraw its request the YPSL could not find another adequate speaker.

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